/389 cont./

129 from March 13, 1872, is classic. It had become necessary to take into account the tremendous and widely known changes which the Paraguay war had brought about in the southern part of the province. Of the tribes listed as Nos. 3-15 in 1848, three were crossed out, the total figure was reduced from 13,020 to 9670, on the other hand, for tribes 1, 2, 16-33 the old report was again copied verbatim, so that no human being seems to have been born or died here in the 24 years.

175 [199] [164] [159] The Bakairí of the Paranatinga and Rio Novo maintained themselves in their two poor villages; they were occasionally visited by gold-seeker expeditions who would then arrange a small massacre and introduce syphilis and measles. Many perished from measles, the disease, relatively harmless for us, is not only /390/ often fatal to the Indians, but they also have the bad habit of plunging into the river in the middle of the highest fever and not drying themselves after they leave the cool bath.

193 [115] I made an effort to learn more details about the history of the tribe from the aged Caetano, retired chief, and his successor, Felipe, on the Paranatinga, as well as from Antonio. A history of more recent times can clearly be separated out, during which a shift to the southwest took place. Whereas the forefathers on the 175 131 169 361 salto of the Paranatinga lived several days' journey below the present village and somewhat above the emptying of the Rio Novo coming from the left, the West Bakairí, at least since the middle of the previous century, have occupied the border area between the source rivers of the Arinos, Cuyabá, and Paranatinga, where the village on the Rio Novo is still to be found. On the Ribeirão Caimão there were more than six villages; there was a large village on the Ribeirão da Pedra. The first baptism of the Bakairí took place in Diamantino. Caetano, born in the previous century according to all calculations, first saw the light of the world where [177] the Rio Beijaflor empties into the Paranatinga. The Paranatinga village now located above this is a creation of modern times.

/389 cont./

brought about by the gold-seeker Correa. The expeditions in search of the fabulous gold mines of the Martyrios were able to cross the Paranatinga most conveniently here and wanted to use the canoes of the Bakaïrí as well as to obtain food supplies from them. Antonio was born toward the end of the fifties, at the earliest, in Limoeiro, a small settlement.

The ancestors of Antonio offer a chronological handle. His father, Seseriari, also had a Portuguese name; his grandfather, like an Indian in the first Batovy village, was called Karawako, his great-grandfather Yakauka, his great-great-grandfather Kupare, and the last one whose name Antonio still knew was his great-great-great-grandfather, Matukara. The latter lived near the salto of the Paranatinga. If we estimate 30 years per generation, the succession might go back to before the middle of the eighteenth century. Caetano, probably born around 1790, was still supposed to be able to call by name six or seven ancestors, which I unfortunately could no longer confirm, so that his genealogy would reach back to the middle of the seventeenth century. Caetano's father was born on the Paranatinga, above the salto, it was his grandfather who was born on the salto itself. In any case, the statements of the Bakaïrí agree perfectly with the report of Antonio Pires that the Bakaïrí were in contact with the tribes on the upper course of the Cuyabá at the beginning of the previous century.

It is not unimportant to determine as much of the tradition as possible, insofar as it does not yet appear as legend and fairy tale, because it is very desirable to know whether the present-day West Bakaïrí, the inhabitants of the Tapajos source-region, or the East Bakaïrí in the source region of the Schingú /Xingu/ occupy the older habitations.

/391/ The West Bakaïrí definitely put the original home of the entire tribe at the salto of the Paranatinga, so that our Kanaiken /Canib/ tribe would originally have belonged to the Tapajos. But the western source-rivers of the Schingú and the eastern ones of the Paranatinga lie so close together that it is a matter of pure chance where the tribes moving downstream arrive. "One of the grandfathers" of Caetano was slain in the forest by

/391 cont./ [illegible] another Bakaïrí, at that time there were serious conflicts within the tribe, and the result was -- according to the report of the Paranatinga people -- that one part of the Bakaïrí moved from the salto to the Kulisehu.

Between the Paranatinga and the Ronuro, too, there is a "tapeira," a ruined settlement of bygone days, known to the West Bakaïrí. At one time a route led from the salto as far as the Auetö on the Kulisehu, which therefore must have led across the Ronuro or its source streams and the Batovy. The Bakaïrí are said to have fled along this route and to have settled in part on the Batovy, in part on the Kulisehu. They were said to have obtained manioca twigs, batatas, and cará /Dioscorea/ fruits from the Nahuquá for planting.

These are, therefore, very definite statements. It is difficult to say, however, when the separation between West and East Bakaïrí took place and whether it occurred in several thrusts. Just as the tribe of the Auetö and of the Nahuquá appears in the tradition of the Paranatinga village, to have the names of the rest of the Kulisehu tribes, the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, Yaulapiti, Kustenaú /Custenau/, Waurá, Kamayurá /Camayura/, and Trumaí, been known there from the times of Caetano's grandfathers. In the third Bakaïrí village on the Batovy we found a small piece of iron that was said to have been brought in former times from the Pakuneru, the Paranatinga; thus occasional visits back and forth may have occurred, or at least Parantinga-Bakaïrí may now and then have reached the Schingú.

In general, however, I gained the impression that the actual separation of the two Bakaïrí groups took place around the middle or the beginning of the previous century at the latest, when the Brazilians settled in the Mato Grosso and caused major shifts of the tribes. Probably it was not merely a matter of individual internal feuds among the people at the salto, but also of malevolent neighbors who oppressed and occasionally drove away the peaceable Bakaïrí.

In the Brazilian sources the Nambiquara /Nambicuara/, Tapanhuna /Tapanyuna/, and Kayabí /Cayabi/ are given as

/393 cont./

B A 173 721 A [302] B [929] lying in their hammocks, they made an assault and killed two, while the others ran away. The Kayabí were rubbed with arimesca oil (from a vine) and urucú and stank like the devil. They had with them gourd bowls, a different kind of urucú, and bows and arrows. In 1884 in the Paranatinga village we found two Kayabí women, Maria and Luisa Kayabí,* who unfortunately

* See Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, p. 283 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 151/, and the body measurements in the table following p. 364 /omitted in 1:Steinen/. Erroneously written Cajibi there.

no longer knew a word of their mother tongue. Some 20 Bakairí had undertaken the raid at the mouth of the Rio Verde and captured the two small girls along with a sister of Luisa, who, however, bit everyone around her so furiously that she had to be killed.

B 173 167 Although, in addition to the version that dissension among the Bakairí themselves necessitated an exodus to the Schingú, I was also given another one, that a number of Bakairí fled there from the Kayabí. It is quite possible that both are justified and refer to different occasions.

S 131 167 [101] A shift in the same direction was reported to me for the Suyá, which necessarily surprised me no little. The Suyá, whom we found in 1884 on the upper course of the Schingú, are a true Gê tribe and linguistically are most closely related to the Apinagês /Apinaye/ of the province of Goyaz /Goiás/ between the Tocantins and Araguay /Araguaia/. They are likewise said to have lived on the Rio Verde west of the Paranatinga and to have come there from the nearby Arinos. They must therefore, since we may cling to their eastern origin, first have been driven across the Schingú and Paranatinga toward the west and then moved back. The Bakairí say that they joined the Kayapó /Cayapo/, who were excellent archers, and drove the Suyá out of the neighborhood along the Rio Verde. A great many Suyá

B [648] [173] S [648]

2: Steinen--475 E,D-3 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7 Suyá SP21

B 648 193 S 169 648

/393 cont./ A great many Suyá were said to have been killed and the tribe fled to the Schingú. Hyacintho, the oldest Indian of the Rio Novo village, was said to have taken part in the battle, along with Antonio's grandfather, so that at the earliest the event would have occurred in the first quarter of our century.

B 678 B [175]

In the south and southeast the West Bakaïrí evidently had friendly relations with the Gễs tribe of the Kayapó. In the Brazilian sources, which in general underestimate the extent of this tribe, there is nothing /394/ known about the Kayapó having extended into this region. They report only attacks of the "Coroados" on the fazendas of the upper Cuyabá, but the Bakaïrí, who were necessarily better informed, designated this tribe as "kayáño" = Kayapó, and they also call the source river of the Paranatinga coming farthest from the east the Kayapó River. The same Kayapó are eastern or southeastern neighbors of the Kuluehu Bakaïrí, as the latter informed me.

B 101

B 101

Finally, I tried to find out how far the sphere of the West Bakaïrí extends to the west: the Paresí are well known to them as old neighbors. To the west beyond Diamantino, behind the Paresí, live the "Woimaré" and "Eneizé," it was said. They allegedly are not relatives of the Paresí, a statement which is incorrect for the "Woimaré," as we shall see in the discussion of the Paresí. The "Eneizé" are otherwise unknown. Much farther still live the "Pekoban," likewise unknown. The ancestors pushed forward as far as that and said that there was a large river there and that the Pekoban lived beyond it. This could only be the Guaporé, the upper course of the Madeira.

In conclusion, a note about the Guaná is very remarkable; in very, very ancient times they were said to have lived on the Rio Beijaflor, a left tributary of the Paranatinga, which flows into it above the Rio Verde. Cf. page 454.

B 193 167

This is all that I could learn from the West Bakaïrí about the history of the tribe and its relations to its neighbors. To summarize the traditions: the oldest Bakaïrí were settled at the salto of the Paranatinga, thus in any case belonged to the

/394 cont./

193 source region of the Tapajos, and from there some of them emi-
● 169 grated to the Batovy and Kulisehu in the source region of the Schingú. According to the legend, they reached the salto from the source region of the Paranatinga and Ronuro.

The separation of the West Bakaïrí and East Bakaïrí would under all circumstances have to be dated back to at least the previous century and before the time when the Bakaïrí spread to the southwest into the source region of the Cuyabá. The
174 197 linguistic comparison agrees well with these conclusions; the two groups of Bakaïrí speak a language that is identical in form and content, with slight dialectal differences. A few fish and trees are designated differently. the name of the akurí palm of the Kulisehu is that of the oausú palm of the Paranatinga, and
[177] vice versa. As far as the Schingú Bakaïrí are concerned, it is absolutely certain that they have never had any contact with the white man.

619 123 166 As a result of our expedition of 1884, West Bakaïrí and East Bakaïrí came together again. Antonio, after his return home to the Paranatinga, told of the fellow tribesmen on the Batovy, and the practical Chief Felipe had the idea that he must try to
[184] persuade them to settle on the Paranatinga. In September of 1886 he set out with Antonio and another man. they reached the Batovy in three days and required another three days along the river until they reached the first village.

/395/ Chief Luku was kurápa and did not entertain them as splendidly as they had expected, but several East Bakaïrí, our "professor" of 1884 in the lead, accompanied them to the
619 431 Paranatinga. The visitors had great fear of the cattle, but great joy over the visitors-gifts, with which Felipe did not stint. I inquired specifically what they had been given to take along. "We gave them all the iron we had, chickens (this, however, was later denied), small banana plants, mandioca twigs, maize, and rice." Thus one sees how the first opportunity is immediately used to transplant the cultivated produce! If the experiment succeeded, our successors on the Schingú will be able to eat bananas!

Yaruma SP25
Nahuqua
SP7 Bacairi SP7
Yabuti SP24
Palmella
Cariban Indians SP7

Y 131 169 /398 cont./ several words learned from three Palmellas who were in the detachment that until some time ago (but at most 80 years) they were settled near the mission of S. Miguel of the Baures and had come there as refugees from elsewhere, but they no Y 161 164 longer knew from what region. They numbered about 400 individuals, but in an epidemic had lost many people through Y 181 241 death and flight. They were peaceful farmers, little inclined to hunt and fish, they planted maize, mandioca, yams, peanuts, squash, sugar /399/ cane, oranges, melons, and raised chickens Y 142 143 and ducks. According to accounts of traders, there were among the Indians "a few truly white with reddish or chestnut-brown hair, like the Herisobocones in the Baures district, the Tukunapeba and the Arara of the lower Schingú." A white Indian woman with blue eyes and behavior that showed traces of civilization was Y 101 treated respectfully by all under the name of "Senhora." Unfortunately, we do not learn the actual name of the tribe and must be content with "Palmella," as a Cuyaban caoutchouc Y 167 trader saw fit to christen them. Now though the tribe only immigrated into the Baures district from the outside, and its origin C 31 is unknown, nevertheless the fact that here Karaiben appear in considerable numbers in the source region of the Madeira remains very noteworthy.

Ya B 31 174 In the eastern source region of the Tapajoz and in the western one of the Schingú, the Bakaïrí and the Nahuquá were now added. Though the West Bakaïrí are today considerably reduced, B (167) they successfully spread from the now abandoned salto of the Paranatinga and from the region between the Parantinga and Ronuro toward the east to the Batovy and Kulisehu, where they occupied the fish-rich region of the cataracts. The Nahuquá Ya 131 133 are the masters of the Kuluene, the chief source-branch of the Schingú, the exploration of which will be the most important C Ya 361 161 task of our successors. With their numerous villages they are so very important that one may say: it is the Karaiben who represent the chief bulk of the population of the Schingú source region.

B 174 Through the Kulisehu Bakaïrí and the Nahuquá, the consideration causing the expedition of 1884 to object, namely, that the

6:Oberg E-5 (1947)1953 SP7 Bacairi SP7

[P.69-A]

THE BACAIRI

114 This brief account of the Bacairí is based on
[101] field work done among the Bacairí living in the Government Indian Post on the Rio Paranatinga
[121] in June 1947. The field work was carried out in the course of a reconnaissance survey which the writer was then making of some of the central and northern Indian tribes of Mato Grosso.
[122] This and other trips at the time were made in a Ford truck put at the disposal of the writer by the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios. By using a truck the trip to the Paranatinga could be made over the Planalto do Matogrosense in 2 days in contrast to the old route along the Rio Cuiabá which, on horseback with pack oxen, takes from 2 to 3 weeks. The writer was accompanied by Fernando Altenfelder Silva of the Escola de Sociologia e Politica de São Paulo and by Rev. Thomas Young and Rev. W. L. Buckman of the South American Indian Mission. The Reverend Mr.
[115] Young, who has spent more than 10 years among the Bacairí, was of great help in selecting informants and in adding to our knowledge of the Bacairí.

161 According to estimates made in 1947 by the
36/ Brazilian Indian Service (Serviço de Proteção aos Indios) there are between 200 and 250 Bacairí living in the northern part of Mato Grosso State, Brazil, divided between the Indian Post of Simão Lopes on the Rio Paranatinga and the village of
173 Rio Novo some distance to the northwest. The
361 Bacairí claim that the whole tribe originally
● 167 lived together on the Rio Paranatinga (headwaters
[648] of the Tapajoz River), but attacks by other Indians and Brazilians forced them to move about 90 years ago. Owing to a dispute the tribe split, one group moving north to settle on the banks of the Rio Kuliseu, a tributary of the Xingú River, the other moving to Rio Novo. After about 50 years in the Kuliseu Basin, this group moved to the present location of Simão Lopes, not far from the original Bacairí settlement
177 on the Rio Paranatinga. Although the Rio Novo
166 group has adopted Brazilian customs and manages
648 without Government help, some have moved to Simão Lopes where the Bacairí now live on reservation lands and receive assistance from the Brazilian Government.